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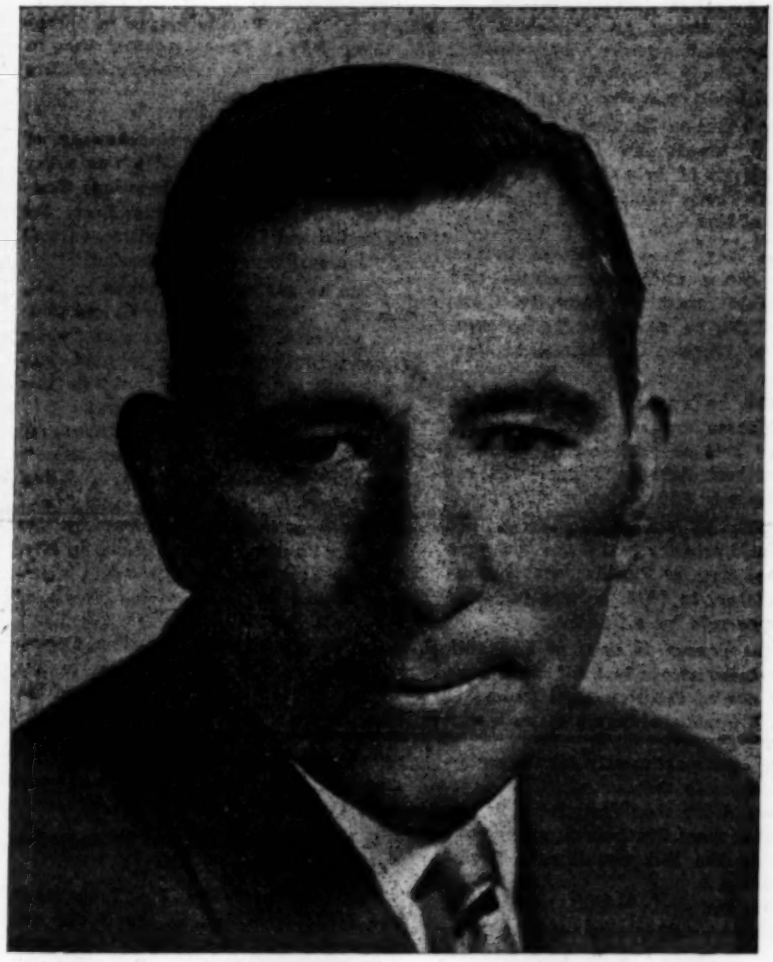
Salute to Senator Pepper

The Southern PATRIOT

Volume 4 Nashville, Tennessee, April, 1946 No. 4



"I have fought the reactionists—the witting or unwitting champions of the uncommon people—all my life. I shall continue to fight them because I am a Southerner and because what they stand for harms the South I love. I charge that they would rather turn the efforts of the government to the aid of the organized money power of the Nation than to make it possible for the people of my state and the South to get an education, to be healthy, and to make a living like honorable men."

Senator Claude Pepper

In Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, the South has produced an outstanding spokesman of the people, not just of the South, but of the nation.

He is a defender of democracy. He has taken the lead in the campaign to abolish the poll tax and thus extend the vote to the majority of the Southern people.

He is a defender of the living standards of the people. He is the author of the 65-cent minimum wage bill, which would be an important blow at the substandard wages which hold the Southern people in poverty and depress the whole Southern economy.

He is a defender of human welfare. His brilliant conduct of the Senate hearings on wartime health and education have dramatized to all America our shortcomings in these fields and led to the drafting of far-reaching programs to correct them.

Pepper was a leading spokesman for President Roosevelt. He carries on today in the Roosevelt tradition. The South is proud of him.

SENATOR CLAUDE PEPPER-

In his ten years in the U. S. Senate, Claude Pepper of Florida, has emerged as perhaps the outstanding leader in the fight for the interests and welfare of the common people of the South and the nation. There follow some of the highlights of his great record.

Fighter For Democracy

From the very beginning of the fight to abolish the poll tax by federal legislation, to win the freedom of the ballot for ten million voteless Southerners, Senator Pepper has led the way, in remarkable contrast to the solid (except for Senator Barkley) phalanx of his fellow Southern Senators.

He introduced the first anti-poll tax measure (S-1280) into the Senate, abolishing the vote tax in primaries and general elections. When the House of Representatives passed its anti-poll tax bill (HR 1024) in 1942 and it came before the Senate, Senator Pepper conducted the main parliamentary battle against the filibuster of other Southern Senators. He voted for cloture, to end the filibuster, after summing up the issues in a brilliant speech:

"I speak on behalf of the larger issue of democracy. Balance it, if you will, between the right of a state to perpetuate a wrong and the duty of a nation to preserve democracy, and then make your decision.

"Has not the surge of the wave of democracy touched our own shores? Has it not reached the borders and boundaries of the Senate? The bill has already passed the House. While we are trying to preserve democracy all over the earth, are we willing capriciously, arbitrarily, uncompromisingly and at any cost to deny democracy to the people of America?"

When the anti-poll tax bill (HR 7) came before the Senate for the second time in 1944, again he spoke for the Bill, voted for cloture, and fought to keep the bill on the floor.

This year—the third time the bill has been an issue in the Senate—Pepper is chairman of the Steering Committee to get the Bill thru. He is actively trying to get HR 7 off the Senate calendar and up on the floor for a vote.

Fighter For Prosperity

"A nation whose people do not earn money to maintain their health and their welfare is not only not fully employed, it is not even democratic in the sense of democracy as a way of life."

Senator Pepper has led the fight for higher living standards for the American working man, particularly for the underpaid millions in the South.

He voted for the Wage Hour Bill in 1937, when most Southern Senators were predicting the Bill would mean "ruin" for the South.

In 1944 and again in 1945, he introduced resolutions authorizing the War Labor Board to raise the minimum wage to 65c. The hearings which Pepper conducted on these resolutions brought dramatically to the attention of the nation the substandard living conditions throughout the nation. However, the Senate took no action on them.

Senator Pepper then introduced an amendment to the Wage Hour Act (S-1349), providing for an increase in the minimum wage to 65c immediately and to 75c after two years; broadening the coverage of the act; and strengthening its child labor provisions.

The measure attacks the root of the South's economic evils.

But Southern Senators emasculated the bill and deliberately attached a parity price amendment which President Truman announced in advance he would veto. The Bill now goes to the House.

In his fight for higher minimum wages, Pepper is keeping his pledge:

"As long as I live, I will challenge the feudal tradition in the South and those who would preserve it to continue a kind of economic slavery."

Pepper's support of Fair Employment Practice legislation is part of his fight for better living standards for all the people and against the South's "feudal tradition" of "economic slavery." Pepper was the only Southern Senator to vote in favor of the F.E.P.C. appropriation in June, 1944 and again in June, 1945. When the Southern Senators filibustered the permanent F.E.P.C. Bill, Pepper paired for cloture.

Pepper's fight for the prosperity of the South is also demonstrated by his record on the fight to reduce freight rates in the South. He introduced the first resolution on the subject in 1938.

Biographical Sketch

Claude Pepper was born in 1900, on a small farm in Chambers County, Alabama. Like Hugo Black, who was born in the same county, Pepper came from the hill country—a region which has produced progressive Southern leaders ever since the days before the Civil War, when the poor whites were driven there by the wealthy slaveholders who had grabbed up the fertile valley land.

He grew up in Alabama, teaching school and working in the Birmingham steel mills before entering the University of Alabama in 1918. Pepper stayed in college by working at the power plant—rolling coal, firing a boiler, but he found time to make Phi Beta Kappa, edit the college paper, and serve on the university debating team and track team and participate in the student government.

He went then to Harvard Law School, graduated, taught law for a year at the University of Arkansas, and in 1925 moved to Perry, Florida, to begin the practice of law.

Before long, he was elected to the Florida House of Representatives and to the State Democratic Executive Committee. 1930, he moved to Tallahassee, capitol of Florida, to continue his law practice.

In 1934, he was a candidate for the U. S. Senate against Park Trammell, who had held the office for seventeen years without defeat. Pepper was defeated by ony 4,500 votes.

In 1936, he was nominated in the Democratic primary to fill the two year unexpired term of Florida Senator Duncan Fletcher. In 1938, he was reelected by a large vote for a full term.

Senator Pepper, in spite of his youth and his inexperience in the Senate, soon became one of the New Deal leaders in the U. S. Senate, always a staunch supporter, often the primary spokesman, of the policies of F. D. R. He was a key member of the Foreign Relations Committee, the Commerce Committee, the Education and Labor Committee, as well as of several minor committees.

When he was up for reelection in 1944, therefore, Florida reactionaries did their best to defeat him. The issue of "white supremacy" was bitterly injected into the campaign. Characteristic was this statement by one of his opponents:

"The present and future welfare of the South demands that the white race remain the dominant race. . . . I feel very strongly that certain social and socialistic activities sponsored by the New Deal and more particularly by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt are intolerable, detrimental, and an insult to the people of the great South."

But in spite of such opposition, Pepper triumphed again and returned to the Senate an even stronger advocate of the common man.

HIS FIGHTING RECORD

Fighter For Human Welfare

In 1943, Senator Pepper introduced a resolution calling for the establishment of a Senate subcommittee to study and investigate the deficiencies in the health and education of the American people.

This resolution was passed and Senator Pepper was appointed Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Wartime Health and Education.

This committee has done a brilliant and painstaking job over the past two and a half years—"diagnosing the nation's physical condition," carefully studying health conditions in war industries, the Selective Service data on rejections for physical reasons, the needs of medical research, the health needs of veterans, the problem of mental health care, hospital and health center requirements, the problem and experiments in health insurance, and the problem of juvenile delinquency.

Senator Pepper has already introduced a series of measures intended to meet some of the needs uncovered by the Committee's research. Other legislation is being prepared, and Senator Pepper has offered eloquent and convincing testimony in favor of the Murray-Wagner-Dingell National Health Insurance Bill.

Among the bills he has introduced to meet the nation's health needs are:

—a bill to make more adequate provisions for the health and welfare of mothers and children, and for services to crippled children (S. 1318).

—a bill to provide assistance to the States in developing dental health programs. (S.1099).

—a bill to cordinate research mental health problems. (S. 1160).

—a resolution to form an international health organization. (S.J.R. 89).

—a bill to coordinate an international program to discover means of curing and preventing cancer. (S. 1875).

Senator Pepper has also introduced legislation to broaden the educational benefits of the G.I. Bill of Rights.

Fighter For Peace

Senator Pepper, during the Roosevelt administration, was one of the leading spokesmen for the President's foreign policy. He actively supported the President's call for quarantining the aggressor nations in 1937. He was the first to introduce what later developed into the lend-lease program.

He has now come forward as the outstanding fighter for Franklin D. Roosevelt's policy of Big Three unity, and international friendship and peace. In the last few weeks he has three times raised his voice in strong and brilliant appeals his voice in strong and brilliant appeals —in opposition to the hate-peddlers.

SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE SUGGESTS FEDERAL HEALTH PROGRAM
CORRECTIVE SURGERY CENTER
EXPANSION OF SELECTIVE SERVICE TO REHABILITATE 4-F'S
FEDERAL LOANS & GRANTS
PUBLIC HEALTH CENTER
FOR FULL TIME LOCAL PUBLIC HEALTH UNITS IN ALL COMMUNITIES
SEWAGE DISPOSAL
TO STATES FOR CONSTRUCTION OF HOSPITALS & MEDICAL CENTERS
TO STATES FOR MEDICAL CARE FOR NEEDY
FOR URBAN SEWAGE & RURAL SANITATION PROGRAMS
FOR MEDICAL RESEARCH & EDUCATION

Recommendations of Sen. Pepper's Sub-Committee

Excerpts from his Senate speech "An American Policy for Peace and a New World" are printed on the next page. His next speech in the Senate was equally impressive.

"What I decry is the international hypocrisy, sham, and pretense. If the British people want the Russians to get their troops out of Iran, let the British get their troops out of Iraq. Let them get their troops out of Trans-Jordan. Let them get their troops out of Lebanon and Syria, and let them get their troops out of Palestine."

"All I want to see is the United States of America not become a guarantor of British imperialism. Today, that is what we are doing. We do not need a Churchillian compact with Great Britain. Every time there is an international conference it is the British-American twins that function and perform. Inevitably, that will lead to an anti-British-American bloc in the rest of the world. That is the only way they can counteract this Siamese-twin association that we have gotten ourselves into.

"So far as I am concerned, I am not going to vote for selective service; I am not going to vote for war appropriations if we are going to use the forces we have to broaden and perpetuate the British status quo which exists in the world today; and if Secretary Byrnes means what he says—that he does not want us to maintain the status quo—he had better change his policy, or his actions will belie his words."

"Oh, it was easy to gang up on the Russians, Mr. President, while the czars were fighting the people of the country with their perfidious policies an police. It was easy to gang up on th Russians during the days of the Russia revolution. It has been easy for the re of us to gang up ever since. I do no want to be a party to such a process."

Senator Pepper spoke along th same lines at the Win-the-Peace Con gress in Washington, D. C. Thus he i leading the common people in their mos important task today—winning the peac and preserving the peace.

Senator Pepper's philosophy is we summed up in this statement:

"We did not fight this war only fo victory over the Germans and the Jap nese. We must make our victory a vi tory over poverty, ill-health, and lac of education. It must be a victory n only over a bad life but for a good life

The Southern PATRIOT

APRIL 1946

VOLUME 4 NUMBER 4

Published monthly by The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 212½ Union Street, Nashville, Tennessee. Ten cents a copy, $1.00 a year. Twenty or more copies mailed to the same address, 25c a year. Entered as second class mail matter November 20, 1942, at the Postoffice, Nashville, Tennessee, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

CLARK FOREMAN, *President*
TARLETON COLLIER, *Secretary*
ALVA W. TAYLOR, *Treasurer*
JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI
Administrator and Editor

An American Policy For

By Sen. Claude Pepper ✶

Mr. President, as the hearts of men and nations are gripped in the fear of war, I rise to speak for peace, and against war, and alike against the causes of war and those who want to make war.

The grim danger of war which faces America and the world today impels me to speak with the utmost candor and plainness.

Before the veterans have all come home to their families again, before artificial legs and arms have been provided for the amputees, before new faces have been made for the scarred and wounded, before the sick and injured have all gotten into hospitals, and the handicapped have learned a new way of earning a living—yes, before the war itself is over, responsible people are letting their tongues roll the word "war" again.

Who Threatens Us?

Who is it that threatens us with war?

Germany, Japan, and their satellites are prostrate. It is not they who are the cause of these rumors of war.

Rather, it is among the Allies who so gloriously fought together to defeat them, that, according to everything we see and hear, a new war threatens.

Before we throw away this peace we have so dearly won, is it not time to look with candor and clear sight, and with an earnestness which bespeaks the horror of what we risk if we fail, to try to understand what lies behind all this planning and talking about war?

Of course, there are always national chauvinism, imperial vanity, and the dangerous dregs of unrepentant isolationism loose in the land and in the world. And there is, of course, the infamous influence of fearmongers who are promoting their gambles with death and destruction to recapture their industrial or political empires which were destroyed in the defeat of nazism.

For National Security

But beyond and behind these sinister forces and people, this tension which threatens war is the reflection of the desperate reaching out of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union for national security.

According to reports, we are stockpiling atomic bombs as fast as our facilities will allow, notwithstanding the growing resignations and resistance of the scientists who made the bomb possible. Does this sound like a nation which feels calm and secure in a world grown small and neighborly?

Let us look at Britain. Why does she keep 4,000,000 men under arms? Why does she maintain armies of so-called "protection" in Greece, Palestine, Egypt, Indonesia, India, Indo-China, Burma, and everywhere else along the routes of Empire?

The Great Conspiracy

Russia's fear is aggravated by her memory of the past. She remembers the summer of 1919, when the armies of 14 nations, including Britain, France, China, the United States, Germany and Japan were waging war against the new Soviet Union upon Soviet soil.

Russia remembers the Red baiting, the articulated and open conspiracy against her among the major capitalistic powers of the world, which went on after foreign military forces were withdrawn or driven from the Soviet Union, and the long hated by all and recognized by none.

If we, with our atomic bombs, wit the largest air force, and the most su is there any real wonder that Russia, have never known them, as even the determined that never again shall the enced twice in one generation come to

Crisis of Co

Yes; the world is in the grip of fea fidence.

The United Nations Organization the unity of the Big Three.

The United Nations Organization is under the cloak of the United Nations sanitaire around the third.

How can the United Nations Orga

I venture to suggest that the only ception of Franklin Delano Roosevelt sponsible for the United Nations Org unity of Great Britain, Russia, and the a whole new mental and spiritual attit toward peace and plenty.

Unite the Bi

I suggest let there be convened at o Governments of Great Britain, Russia, and agenda must be the restoration of

The first task on the security agend allow Germany and Japan to make war Three nor the United Nations Organiza nazism and fascism in Germany. We s have now reached into Spain and Arge

Atomic Power—Common

Second on the security agenda must to think that there can be a stable an part of the major powers have the atomic power is potentially the greates can never be developed to serve manki as a threatening weapon of war, and k

The next most important question conference will be the joint occupation tegic bases and areas of the world.

Today one of the essential causes is the occupation of strategic bases and exclusion of other powers.

Equal Access to Critic

Four on this agenda must be the in the Atlantic Charter that nations shall war materials of the earth. For as lo modity in the waging of war and in the

r Peace And A New World

long period when she was feared and
ne.

**, with the greatest navy in the world,
st superbly equipped army, are fearful,
ssia, knowing the horrors of war as we
the British have not known them, is
the cruel assault which she has experi-
ne to curse her?**

f Confidence

of fear. We face today a crisis of con-

tion was founded upon the principle of

ion is wrecked if two of the Big Three
tions Organization form another cordon

Organization and peace be saved?

nly way is to carry out the grand con-
velt who, more than any other, is re-
Organization, and to reestablish the
d the United States, and to bring about
attitude on the part of these powers

he Big Three

d at once a meeting of the heads of the
ssia, and the United States. Its scope
on of confidence among the Big Three.
agenda is to insure that we shall never
war again. Obviously neither the Big
anization should stop when we destroy
We should also cut out the roots which
Argentina.

mon Property of Mankind

must be atomic power. It is senseless
le and secure world as long as only a
the atomic bomb. Moreover, though
reatest boon humanity has ever had it
nankind unless it is finally disposed of
and kept safely out of military hands.
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ses which provokes the threat of war
s and areas by certain powers and the

Critical Commodities

the implementation of the covenant of
shall have equal access to the critical
as long as oil remains a critical com-
in the pursuits of peace, that covenant implies that Russia shall have fair access to the oil reserves of territories outside her own homeland, as do the other Big Two.

In Saudi Arabia, the greatest oil reserve in the world outside of the U. S., the exclusive concessions are held by two United States companies.

In Iraq, British, French, Dutch, and American interests have exclusive control of all the petroleum reserves.

In Iran, the British have all the concessions for the exploitation of the extensive oil deposits found there.

Is it really surprising that the Russians should for a long time have been seeking oil concessions in the north of Iran, adjacent to the Russian homeland, and have encouraged the independence movements in that area if they were denied such concessions? We are not simple enough to believe that all of these concessions by foreign countries in the Middle East were procured without recourse to the tactics of power politics.

Fifth upon this security agenda must come the colonial question. Nations cannot expect to stand on high, lofty principles in their pronouncements and violate democratic rights in practice. We cannot say that the Atlantic Charter was intended for the west and not for the east.

It comes with ill grace from certain world powers whose troops are stationed in every nation from Egypt to Singapore to make a world conflagration out of the movement of a few troops a few miles into a neighboring territory to resist an oil monopoly which they enjoy. And if American foreign policy is made the scapegoat for such imperialism it is more stupid than I thought it possible for it to be. It is a good idea to look around a little every now and then and see the sham and hypocrisy which sometimes appear from responsible mouths.

Economic Collaboration

The second major subject must be economic collaboration among the Big Three. Here America must lead or be the nation to suffer most. We have now dedicated ourselves to the only condition in which democracy can flourish, namely full employment of its resources. We cannot have full employment in America unless we have great markets all over the world.

For the United States, economic isolationism is as dangerous as political isolationism. It is not a question of our being able to make a British loan, a French loan, a Russian loan, or a loan to any other power meeting reasonable conditions. We cannot afford not to make such a loan, for it is our goods which these loans eventually will buy, our factories they will keep in production, our workers they will employ, our farmers for whom they will provide markets.

The Choice

Before us then is the choice, war or peace, poverty or plenty, hopelessness or hope.

If this decision were left to a free choice of the people of America, to the people of the Big Three, to the Russians whose faces wreathed in smiles and friendship when one said "Amerikanski" to them, I know what the decision would be.

We may delay it; we may temporarily thwart it, but be assured the people's will for a people's peace will prevail.

***Excerpts from Senator Pepper's speech before the Senate, March 20, 1946.**

Letters to the PATRIOT

To the Editor:

As a fellow Floridian I am happy to salute Senator Claude Pepper for the high quality of political leadership which he has given to Florida, the South, and the nation. Since the early days of the New Deal Senator Pepper has been a staunch exponent of the Roosevelt policies, always eager and ready to take a forthright stand in supporting and championing legislation advanced by the New Deal. Much of that legislation became the warp and woof of American life.

After the death of President Roosevelt, Senator Pepper became the spokesman of the program and principles which still had not come to fruition. Claude Pepper, from the deep South where traditional reaction had so long strangled political action and thought, virtually became the champion and supporter of progressive legislation. He has grown tall in a new type of political statesmanship. We hail with pride his forthright stand for progressive legislation in the face of opposition and lack of conviction and courage.

His record on domestic policies as well as his pronounced positive statements on a foreign policy essential for world peace are noteworthy.

Senator Pepper has given us great cause for pride. We of the South know that when the poll tax is abandoned, this type of progressive leadership will have the approval and support of the majority of the people of the South.

MRS. MARY McLEOD BETHUNE
Daytona Beach, Florida.

To the Editor:

I feel that we, in the Southern Conference, should not overlook the many ways in which the international situation ties in with our work.

In India, ten to fifteen million human beings are facing starvation unto death. In Europe, millions are desperate. Half-hearted measures on the part of our government toward their fate is not the desire or wish of the people of this country. Nor does the appointment of Herbert Hoover to "investigate" the food situation abroad look as if we believed in putting food where the hunger is. Rather it appears that the same man who at the end of World War I used food for purposes of political suppression will determine where our food is to go.

More foods are needed all over the world. The millions of Southern small farmers are capable of producing them.

With an opportunity to produce, and sufficient returns for his labor, the South's small family-type farmer can not only solve the shortage of foods here at home, but can also produce enough to prevent the starvation of Asia's and Europe's millions.

The South needs farm production and distribution facilities in accordance with need rather than price and profit. The South needs government aid to the millions of small farmers rather than all aid to the few thousand big ones. We need extension of the Farm Security Administration program—not its curtailment.

When and if the small farmer is provided the opportunity to produce, reactionary forces in this country can no longer use as an excuse for not aiding starving people abroad the fact that we have a shortage of food at home.

TOM LUDWIG
Tennessee Farmers Union

* * *

To the Editor:

I have great admiration for the work that Senator Pepper has done in behalf of the South. He has certainly been the most consistently liberal Southerner in recent times. I am delighted you are going to honor him.

MARK ETHRIDGE
Louisville, Ky.

* * *

To the Editor:

"I am of the opinion that all of us should give more attention to the land, the South's greatest asset. As I travel about in Texas I observe the white clieche spots showing on the rises or mounds in the fields, and consider them cancers which are eating up the vitality of us all. Actually there is on an average only six inches of earth between us and the desert."

WALTER PRESCOTT WEBB
University of Texas

Orders have been received for over 125,000 copies of the pamphlet, THE TRUTH ABOUT COLUMBIA, TENNESEE CASES. Copies are still available at 1c each, $1 per hundred, $7.50 per thousand.

Keeping Current

Pepper's Speech in Full

Unfortunately, the excerpts from Senator Pepper's speech, An American Policy for Peace and a New World, which are printed here are only a small part of his message. Fortunately, the entire speech is being printed for mass distribution.

Copies can be secured from the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship, 114 East 32 Street, New York 16, N. Y., at two cents each or $10.00 per thousand. The National Council also publishes a bi-weekly paper, *Reporter on American Soviet Relations*, which presents many facts not often available in the daily press.

On the Air

Dr. D. F. Fleming, of Vanderbilt University, well-known author and authority on international relations, broadcasts weekly from WSM in Nashville, Tennessee (Sundays at 12:45). Copies of the broadcasts, we are glad to say, are available regularly from Station WSM. They are always clear, reasoned and significant contributions to an understanding of world affairs.

His speech of February 24, "Is Russia Preparing for War?" was a particularly worthwhile discussion.

Dr. Fleming is the author of many books on world affairs. CAN WE WIN THE PEACE (Broadman Press, Nashville, Tenn., 1943, $1) is still a timely guide.

* * *

See the current issue of *Readers Scope* for an article about Clark Foreman, President SCHW, "A Southerner's Southerner" by the well known writer, Mel Hobbs.

Spain

"The Case for the Recognition of the Spanish Republic," a memorandum submitted to the President of the United States by national leaders including Raymond Swing, Dr. Frank P. Graham, Jo Davidson, Wiliam Shirer, Philip Murray and Elmer Benson, has been published by the Nation Asociates, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. In view of the current United Nations debate, this factual record of Franco Spain's participation in the Axis war, and Franco Spain's new threat to peace is extremely valuable.

The U. S. State Department has also published a useful compilation of official German documents relating to "The Spanish Government and the Axis." This Department of State Publication 2483, European Series 8 is available from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. for 15 cents.

The Conservative South-A Political Myth

By William G. Carleton

We are happy to reprint excerpts from Mr. Carleton's article in the current Virginia Quarterly Review. *Mr. Carleton is Professor of Political Science at the University of Florida and Chairman of the Social Sciences at the University College.*

* * *

During the Presidential election of 1944 there was more than the usual amount of speculation about a conservative revolt in the South. Similar predictions crop up every four years. Repeated miscarriages seem to have no effect in stopping them. There is, of course, a good bit of wishful thinking in this business, but only a widespread misconception of the fundamentals of Southern politics can explain the extensive popular belief in these recurring prophecies.

Liberalism Began In The South

To begin with, American liberalism was essentially agrarian and it had its origin in the South. Thomas Jefferson was America's first great liberal. It is mortifying to have to state so obvious a truth, but with modern conservatism attempting to appropriate Jefferson as its patron saint, it is necessary to affirm and reaffirm Jefferson's liberalism. Jefferson hated kings, feudal left-overs, business monopolies and privilege in all forms and guises. He had faith in common men in an age when such faith was rank heresy.

If Jefferson were here today, he would be among the first to recognize the need to bring the vast financial and industrial combinations of today under political control.

The vast majority of Southerners were Jeffersonians.

Again, in the Jacksonian revolution of 1828 it was the South which took the lead. The hillbillies, the poor whites, the piney-wood folk, the red necks, the crackers, and the mudsills adored Andrew Jackson. They did much to put the "Old Hero" in the White House, and they sustained him during his two terms as President. True, the big planters, bankers, land speculators, transportation and internal improvement interests, and broadcloth element generally went into the Whig opposition—the "lords of the lash" joined hands with the "lords of the loom"—but in the South they were usually no match for the small farmers.

The fifteen years following Reconstruction were a time of conservative politics. This is the period of the Bourbon South. But what section of the nation was not Bourbon in this period. During this era the resources and politics of the nation were surrendered to the Business Man. Additional factors contributed to conservatism in the South. The scarecrow labeled "Negro rule" was the bogey set up to frighten all Southern independents and liberals and to reduce them to docility.

By the middle 1890's the acquiescence of the white Southern masses was at an end. The hard times, the deflation policies of the federal government, and the cumulative effects of a too-rapid industrialization of the country goaded them into passionate rebellion. They could no longer be silenced by the old conservative cry of "Nigger."

Populism Was Popular

In some areas of the South, Populism spread like a prairie fire. In others, the small farmers and poor whites bored within the Democratic party and gained control of the party organization. This was notably true in South Carolina under the leadership of Ben Tillman.

With the decline of the Populist movement, a majority of the former Populists went into the liberal wing of the Democratic party. It is very significant that Bryan's first nomination was made possible by Southern support. Again, the progressivism inside the Democratic party crystallized by Bryan made possible the nomination of Woodrow Wilson, and it also made possible the New Freedom which characterized Wilson's first administration.

It was this progressive wing of the party which made possible the first, the decisive, nomination of Franklin D. Roosevelt at Chicago in 1932. In general, Southern leaders and the Southern masses were strong for Roosevelt's nomination, and without that support his nomination would have been impossible.

The South's record of political liberalism is all the more remarkable because it has been made without benefit of that great mass of potential liberals—the Negro people.

In the 1890's, the Populists sought to unite poor whites and poor blacks in a common protest against economic exploitation. The Populists sought "political equality" for the Negro. Said Tom Watson, fiery Georgia Populist, "The accident of color can make no difference in the interests of farmers, croppers and laborers. You are kept apart," he told the two races, "that you may be separately fleeced of your earnings."

Today fear of the Negro in politics is diminishing in the South. The cry of "Nigger" employed to divide the liberal forces, is losing its old magic. That cry was raised against Senator Claude Pepper in the 1944 Florida primary, but it was raised in vain. It was raised against Senator Lister Hill in the 1944 Alabama primary, but to no avail. Even in South Carolina the old Red Shirt slogans could not save "Cotton Ed" Smith from defeat.

There is a strong movement among Southern whites to repeal the state poll taxes. At a meeting in Atlanta in the winter of 1945 Mark Ethridge and other prominent Southerners came out in favor of repeal. Several years ago Florida by voluntary state action repealed its poll tax and the state of Georgia followed suit when its 1945 legislature, under the leadership of youthful and liberal Governor. Ellis Arnall, repealed a poll-tax law of long standing. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the Southern Regional Council are steadily growing in strength and effectiveness.

More and more Negroes are voting in Southern elections. The increasing Negro vote, moreover, should be a boon to liberals in their fight within the party to gain and keep party control.

The picture of the political South I have delineated is not meant to be roseate. The woes of the South have been recounted over and again; its grinding poverty, its sharecropper problems, its wage and income differentials, its crippled schools, its meager endowments for colleges and universities. It is precisely because of such conditions that the masses of the South are critical of our industrial system and liberal in politics. When the fundamental issues are raised in an able and attractive way and the masses of people have a chance to express themselves, Southerners usually vote liberal.

New Liberal Forces

The forces which will make the South even more liberal in its voting are gathering strength every day. What are these? The weakening of the poll taxes. The increasing tendency of Negroes to vote. The movement to enfranchise youth which has already borne fruit in Georgia where the eighteen-year olds now vote. The steady growth of labor unions and their increasing influence in both economic and political affairs. The recent aggressive attacks in the South on labor unions are an indication that Southern conservatives are aroused over the growing power of Southern labor unions.

The South has not failed liberalism. Where in the whole region west of the Mississippi River is there a college president as consistently liberal as Frank P. Graham? Where in that region is there a judge as consistently liberal as Hugo L. Black? And now that George W. Norris is no more, where in that region is there a statesman as consistently liberal as Claude Pepper?